/158 cont./

845 847 If twins are born, which apparently is very rare, one child is killed. When the twins are a boy and a girl, curiously enough it is the boy who is killed. The killing is done by the midwife or mother by burial immediately after birth.

852 A birth is celebrated by dancing, but only if enough food is on hand.

853 Nursing continues for two to three years.

764 [766] A distinction is made between people who have died "well," that is, easily and without a painful illness, and those who die in great pain.

The former are buried in the bush near the surface in the vicinity of the settlement, and the settlement is moved.

766 The latter, whom the Bushman probably regards as possessed and fears even after death, are not buried at all since they are abandoned even before death, and the entire settlement flees.

764 In the case of a burial, it takes place immediately after death.

The corpse is tied up in a crouched position, with the hands placed crosswise on the shoulders; the clothing is not removed.

The grave is not oriented with regard to any special direction; it is made as shallow and small as possible and is not provided with protective measures against predators.

The bow and the quiver with its contents are supposed to be hung on a stick planted into the ground over the head of the corpse. I present this with reservations, since I have never seen a grave marker of this kind.

761 People who have had a "good" death have died naturally; the others were bewitched. I use this expression, since it seems to me to come closest to the conception of the Auin.

766 If an Auin has murdered another Bushman, he drags him under a rosinkis bush and places him face downward on the ground.

765 The women of the settlement participate in the widow's lament, which consists of howling and screaming. External signs of mourning are not worn.

[31 cont.]

764 of the Bushmen are tied up in a crouched position and buried under termite hills.

"The corpse is usually lowered in such a way that it is received by a man standing in the grave. Aside from those who bring the corpse and dig the grave, no one goes to the interment. The corpse is buried either in a crouched posture or lying in a crouched position. In the case of the crouched posture, the face is eastward, and the elbows rest on the knees, while the hands are on either side of the head. In the case of the crouched position, the corpse is placed on the left side. The left hand is placed under the head, giving the appearance of a sleeping person. The face likewise looks toward the east.

●766 [32] "Before their interment, feared men, such as sorcerers who had a malign influence and others who were feared in life, but not women, are firmly tied up with thongs of game hide in the crouched posture described above; then, in some cases, the spine is crushed with a stone or ax, as a result of which the head can be bent even lower and placed between the knees. Tied up in this fashion, they are thrown into a fissure in the earth, into an anteater's hole, or into a small cave."

8. The Hunt

423 224 [621] It is well known that wherever the Bushmen live more or less undisturbed, each kin group has its precisely defined hunting territory. Vedder believes that the engravings of game tracks indicate old boundaries, as do the stone heaps which are usually designated as Heiseb graves. In any case the question arises as to who actually established these boundaries. My informants stated unanimously that the division stems from the time when the Bushmen still had a supreme chief. There seems to be some authority, however, even today, since in the bush veld the boundary lines are drawn with reference to certain trees, which, in general do not have too long a life. The Bushmen move back and forth within their hunting territories. It sometimes happens that a young hunter is not thoroughly familiar with the boundaries or that wounded game crosses the boundary. In this case the hunter must

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

224 857 866 Toma's son rubbed his head with his tough little fingers to make up his mind. Finally he left his friends and climbed on the truck. Home was too far to walk to, he said, and he was going to forfeit. As we drove away, his friends ran after us, shouting that they would bring him his share if they were able.

151 152 737 We reached Nama Pan late in the afternoon. Toma and Gao Feet cleared a werf for Short Kwi, and when he was settled comfortably with his back against a tree and with soft grass and blankets arranged all around him he said softly, just to himself and anyone else who might be listening, that during the night his leg had fallen off. After he said this he began to cry, and Gao Feet slowly crouched beside him, unwound the blanket slowly, and untied the bark, then gently lifted the knee away from the calf, which remained on the ground, just like the leg of a mummy. When the calf had fallen off, Short Kwi had pushed the two pieces back together again. Short Kwi was crying and biting his hand and his wife was crying, and Toma and Gao Feet stood beside him for a minute looking, the expression on their faces as dark as night.

● 766 Then they picked up the leg and carried it away to the veld, where they buried it in a hole, exactly as if it were a person, they were so sad.

152 Later, when we had dressed the stump, Toma and Gao Feet came back to sit with Short Kwi and talk with him. Gao Feet told about a Bantu man he had seen far in the north who had been injured in a mine accident and had been fitted with a false foot. Short Kwi could have one too, Gao said; but Toma said, almost too depressed to speak: "What does it matter? He is a cripple now."

521 758 Then the men went away and left Short Kwi to rest, and during the evening the children and young people were talk-

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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that sorcerers could bewitch and thus kill a person, while the breach of certain prescribed rules of conduct connected especially with the rain was held to lead automatically to death.[1] The Auen make a distinction between people who die a "good death", i.e. easily and without great preceding pains, and those who die in great agony. The former are regarded as dying a natural death, the latter as bewitched or possessed.[2] Further north, among the Kung, it is believed that death may be caused by certain spirits known as *dsao*, who are sent by the spirits of the dead (*//gauab*) to enter the bodies of people and thus make them sick; while men who speak evil of the "great chief" *Xu* may be killed by him through the medium of lightning.[3] With the Hiechware, again, no death is ever the result of natural causes. It is brought about by witchcraft or the malevolent power of enemies. "It is strange," says Dornan,[4] "how the old and decrepit people, who must know that their time in this world will be short, cling tenaciously to this belief. It is useless to argue with them upon the question. They will tell you that they know of many people who died by the powerful medicine of their enemies."

It is a well-known feature of primitive peoples that they are not satisfied with what we call natural causes of death, and that whenever a death occurs there is a belief that some sorcerer or some supernatural agency has been the cause of it. That such a belief also exists among the Bushmen is obvious from the statements given above, but more detailed information on this point is very desirable, especially as to the extent to which purely natural causes are recognized.

If death comes to a Bushman in normal times he is buried with all his possessions not far from his hut, generally in the posture in which he sleeps, i.e. on one side, with the knees drawn up against the breast. This is the posture desired both north and south, and often met with in excavations of Bushman graves. Everywhere, however, Bushmen are also found buried in all sorts of other postures; evidently time and means for a proper burial have not always been forthcoming. In some cases, too, burial is impossible or even refused. The Auen, e.g., bury only those people who have died "good deaths"; the

[1] Bleek, op. cit., 14, 16, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15, 16, 21, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 393 sqq.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158.
[3] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 15; *idem*, "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Kau-Buschmänner," 407, 409.
[4] Op. cit., 144

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

766 others are usually abandoned before they die, and the whole camp wanders in the bush.[1]

888 There is also the well-authenticated fact that old people are sometimes deliberately abandoned. When drought and scarcity force the Bushmen to a long hurried march, some old man or woman may be too feeble to keep up with them. They then make a screen of bushes all round the old person, provide a good supply of firewood and a little food and water if possible, and push on, leaving him behind. Should game and water be found within a couple of days' march, some young fellow is sent hurrying back with supplies. Otherwise they do not come near the place again, knowing that the end must have come and hyenas dealt with the remains. This abandonment of the aged has often been characterized as an inhuman trait in the Bushmen; but when the life of the whole band depends upon rapid movement it is difficult to see how they could act otherwise. Anyone who falls out and dies on such a march will have to go unburied too, and probably the same fate overtakes those killed in war.[2]

[766] [727]

114 764 Where burial does take place it follows almost immediately after the death. The descriptions available of the actual funeral ceremonies of the Bushmen are far from being exhaustive, and naturally vary somewhat in detail, but a certain degree of uniformity may be noted. The information relating to the Southern tribes is fragmentary. Skeletons of these Bushmen are found buried both in caves and in graves out in the open, but of the customs associated with burial we have very little record. The fullest description is that given by Arbousset of the Basutoland Bushmen. He states that a dead person first has his head anointed with red powder (*buchu*), mixed with melted fat. The corpse is then rudely perfumed (*grossièrement parfumée*), and laid on its side in an oblong grave, to which all the relatives and friends hasten to make their lamentations. They come even from the neighbouring villages to see and examine the body, which is then taken out of the grave; and everybody redoubles his cries and lamentations. At last they throw into the grave the hut of the dead person, and burn it above him. The grave is then filled in with earth to the level of the ground, but no heap of stones is piled above it. The funeral over, the band leaves the place for a

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[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 158.

[2] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner, 122; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 110–11; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95; Lebzelter, "Bei den Kuh-Buschleuten," 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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764 is a deep hole, narrowing towards the top; its bottom is covered with small bushes, the corpse, wrapped up in its kaross, is laid upon these, then covered over with bushes, upon which finally small white stones are heaped till ground-level is reached. The surface of the [825] grave, like the corpse itself, is sprinkled with water mixed with vegetable "medicine"; this, says Seydel, is intended to keep jackals ●[766] and hyenas from the grave. Children are buried in the same manner, but the ceremony is simpler, only the nearest relatives accompanying the corpse to the grave.[1] Trenk gives some additional details. [775] The thickened sap of a certain small bush (*dawes*) is placed in the hands of the dead person, so that "his soul, when it reaches the 'evil spirit', may not do harm to other people, and will find rich [535] food in its other existence". At the funeral a fire is lit at the grave, round which is then held a dance accompanied by a funeral song; and all the women must weep for a day. A funeral feast follows, 765 in which honey beer plays no small part. A widow as a sign of [273] mourning cuts a round spot out of the hair over her forehead, a widower a parting directly over the middle of the head. How long the mourning lasts is not clearly stated, but, as we have already noted, a full season must elapse before the surviving partner may remarry.[2]

764 Among the Naron, as soon as a person has died those present [763] raise a short, very distinct cry which lets the whole camp know of the death. The body, wrapped up in the kaross worn by the dead person in life, is brought into a contracted position, the knees being bent up against the chest, the arms crossed and the hands laid on the shoulders, and is tied up like this with rope for purposes of transport. It is then laid near the fire, while the women howl and weep over it. Burial takes place as soon as possible after death. If this occurs at night, then on the following day; if in the morning, then on the same day. The grave is a deep, round hole, dug with the hands and digging-stick at a spot where the soil is not hard. Two or three men carry the body there, a man jumps in, receives it as it is lowered down by the ropes, and places it lying on the left side facing the east. Why this position is customary they do not know. The dead are buried in all their clothes and ornaments, and all their possessions are placed in the grave, or if too long, as in the case of a bow or spear, are hung on a bush close by. Then the grave is filled, and bushes or stones are thrown on top to keep the animals off. All the village [765] is present, and the women weep. Next day a near relative burns

[1] "Aus der Namib," 504.

[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.